1: Jenness--86-87 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 535, 572

"Strangers who come and attach themselves to the group try to connect themselves by marriage, or by establishing definite ties with individual members. Even temporary visitors do the same. When Kaksavik, the Pallik Eskimo from Hudson Bay, paid a three day's visit to the Dolphin and Union strait Eskimos, their foremost man Ikpakhuak made him his 'dancing-associate', numikattia. In this way a permanent tie was established between the [87] two men, to last till one of them died or a violent quarrel caused their estrangement. If at any time either should visit the other, he was sure of a dance of welcome and hospitable entertainment. In the same way when the Puivlik natives were welcoming the first Kanghiryuak family at Lake Tahiryuak Higilak adopted the visiting woman as her dancing-associate and Ikpakhuak adopted both the man and his wife. A few hours afterwards when the second family appeared a young Kanghiryuak man selected Milukkattak for the same honour. It is very common for a native to have two dancing-associates in a single community, one a man and the other a woman. Avranna, for example, found a married couple who were friends of this kind amongst the Kilusiktomiut, when we visited those natives in March, 1916. They gave a dance in his honour on the evening of his arrival. The dance-house was very small, there was no drum, and the whole settlement was on the verge of starvation, yet the welcome they gave him was none the less cordial on that account. They even made a special drum for him next day so that nothing might be lacking for his entertainment. It is by these

two methods, then, by wife-exchange and by association in dancing, that the Copper Eskimo establishes friendships wherever he goes and travels from group to group without danger."

1: Jenness--224
116, 535, 292

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"The Eskimos wear their finest clothes in the dance-house, clothes with coloured bands and tasselled fringes. They are often hung with trophies, such as the teeth or claws of a polar bear, or the knuckle-bones of the seal.(2) The white skin of the weasel, worn either on a parti-coloured dancing cap surmounted by a loon's bill or on the back of the coat, is a particularly favourite ornament. Relatives, especially wives, frequently borrow these ornaments when it comes to their turn to dance. Ikpakhuak wore a beautifully striped cap at a dance one evening; half an hour later his niece was wearing it; then soon afterwards his nephew. Fashion ordains the wearing of gloves while dancing, and whenever possible, even in the spring and summer, the feet should be shod with the winter shoes of white seal-skin, especially the kind called tuatuatsiak, which are crimped all round the bottom and have a black triangular insertion over the toes. Hence one occasionally sees a curious medley of costumes in the spring; some of the natives will be wearing their finest winter clothes, while others who have cached their property on the sea-shore are forced to appear in their oldest garments, with their feet tucked into long water-boots."

"2. A Prince Albert sound native wore at a dance a complete set of polar bear's claws suspended in pairs around his coat like a belt."

1: Jenness--224 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 535

"The most usual dance is the pisik, and the natives always commence with this. The dancer, whether a man or a woman (for the Copper Eskimos make no difference in this respect), begins with a few beats of the drum as though testing it, then holds it up in both hands and waves it up and down, or else taps the middle of the membrane lightly on the under side. Then he starts his song, balancing himself alternately on either foot. The audience join in when they recognize the words, and as soon as the song is going with a good swing the man begins his dance proper, beating his drum, swaying his body and circling round the ring to the accompaniment of the music. Often he lowers his drum towards the end of the refrain, raps it in the middle a few times and starts the next verse lest his audience may have forgotten the sequence. The time of the music is always very irregular. If the tune runs too high up the scale at any place the men drop an octave for a few notes. The dancer will call on his audience to sing louder if the chorus is not maintained with full vigour, and will himself raise his voice to its highest pitch. Not infrequently though, if the song is a new one, his audience will tell him to change it and he has to begin over again. It is very amusing sometimes to see the wife vigorously leading the singing when her husband is dancing, so that he will be spurred on to put forth his best efforts. A father will often do this for his favourite child, or he will shout words of encouragement and advice. Wild

whoops of joy from the dancer always greet support from the ring. (1)"

"1. A special memoir on Copper Eskimo music will be published later in this series, based on a large collection of phonographic records now stored in the Victoria Memorial Museum of the Department of Mines, at Ottawa."

1: Jenness--224-227
116, 535

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"When the Puivlik and Kanghiryuak natives met at Lake Tahiryuak in the beginning of June, 1915, the occasion was celebrated by every variety of dancing known to these Eskimos. A dance-house was erected in a deep snowdrift at the foot of a bank. Only the walls were built of snow, the roof being formed of deerskins and the cloth covering of my sled, as the heat of the sun at this time of the year would have melted a dome of snow. On the first day only one Kanghiryuak family had arrived, Kunana and his wife Allikammik, with their little baby and a young man named Imerak. Ikpakhuak was the most influential man in our party, so it was only natural that his wife Higilak should lead off in the dancing. Despite her portly figure she danced very well, and gave a good exhibition of the ordinary pisik in which she beat the drum herself. She called out her visitor Allikammik to run around her, first in one direction, then in the [225] other, thus making her a 'dancing-associate.' Allikammik then retired to the ring again, and the two women ratified their friendship by shaking their noses within an inch of each other.

During all this time the singing had continued uninterruptedly, though Higilak had lowered her drum and stopped beating. She now resumed her dance, and as soon as it was ended handed the drum to Allikammik and executed an impromptu jig on her own account, accompanied by wild whoops that testified to her joy at the meeting. It was now Allikammik's turn. She was very angular in figure, and danced awkwardly, with

many jerks and spasms. She laboured, too, under the difficulty of dancing without a full chorus, for the song she started was known only to her husband (and perhaps also to Imerak, but he did not attempt to sing). Ikpakhuak and Higilak gallantly attempted to pick up the tune out of courtesy, but all the rest stood around in silence. Allikammik returned Higilak's compliment by calling her out to run around her, as she had done before. Afterwards some of the Puivlik natives privately ridiculed her dancing, and made rather a laughing-stock of her, but this was partly due to Higilak, who was somewhat jealous of the attentions that Allikammik paid to Ikpakhuak.

Ikpakhuak then took the drum and entered the ring. He was a celebrated dancer, and with lively but graceful movements sprang round and round the ring, leaping on alternate feet, and whirling the great drum to and fro while the low canvas roof puffed up and down with its wind. He struck the drum on the far side of the handle, then, as he swung it back, brought it to a stop on the stick with very little noise; other natives who were less expert made the return swing resound almost as much as the full stroke itself. At the beginning of his dance he called Allikammik out to run around him, then a little later both her and her husband Kunana: the latter, according to custom, took the inside course, the place of honour, allowing his wife to drop back into the ring while he ran back in the opposite direction. He succeeded Ikpakhuak with his drum, for it is the

preogative of two 'dancing-associates' to follow one another. Nearly everyone in the company knew his song, so the chorus swelled with some volume; but he was not nearly so skilful a dancer as Ikpakhuak, and moved about very little. During his dance he called out Ikpakhuak and Higilak to run around him, the latter, like Allikammik, running on the outside and leaving her husband to return alone.

The ceremonial portion of the program was now ended, for the visitors had received their formal welcome. It would have been very unnatural, however, to stop a dance in which everyone was finding so much enjoyment, so Okalluk took the drum and entered the ring. His voice was very hoarse and raucous, and he moved about very little, but he compensated for this by flourishing the drum with great vigour and banging it till we were all nearly deafened. Higilak left the dance-house at this stage to attend to her cooking in the camp above.

Kesullik followed Okalluk, and, after him, Kanneyuk; the former was called out by Avranna. He forgot the words of his song in the very middle and broke down for a moment, but recovered again amid a good deal of laughter. The drum, which had been made by Ikpakhuak, was obviously too big and heavy for him, and he handled it rather awkwardly, keeping his feet widely apart and jerking his body spasmodically. Kanneyuk, though a mere child, was much more skilful, and even though she had to lower the drum from time to time on account of its weight, her dancing never stopped for a moment and

she continued to beat it just the same.

Avranna took the drum when she had finished, but his dance had hardly started when a sled was sighted and everyone rushed out to welcome the newcomers. It was too late in the day to begin another formal dance, so this was postponed until the morrow. Some of the Puivlik natives, however, went back [226] to the dance-house and amused themselves drumming and singing. A few of them slept there that night, as the skins of their tents had been used on its roof. Kunana, before retiring to his tent, sewed two fur strings on the right shoulder of Higilak's coat in token of their new-formed friendship.

The following morning the natives donned their finest clothing in preparation for the dance in honour of the new-comers, Nilgak and his wife Utuaiyok. Pissuak was an old friend of Nilgak, his dancing-associate in fact, so he naturally opened the welcome. Puivlik and Kanghiryuak natives followed each other in almost regular sequence; Pissuak (Puivlik), Utuaiyok (Kanghiryuak), Avranna (P), Imerak (K), Milukkattak (P), Higilak (P), Kunana (K), Ikpakhuak (P), Allikammik (K), Avranna (P), Utuaiyok (K), Pissuak (P), Nilgak (K), and Kullak (P). When Pissuak danced he called out his friend's wife, Utuaiyok, to run around him, she called out both Pissuak and Avranna, then Avranna called her out in return, Imerak summoned Milukkattak, and she reciprocated immediately afterwards, while Kunana called out, first Higilak, then Ikpakhuak, then Higilak again, and Ikpakhuak had to respond by calling out Kunana's wife Allikammik, and after-

wards Kunana himself. Avranna in his second dance called out Utuaiyok, she called out both him and Pissuak, then Pissuak again alone, Pissuak called out both her and her husband together, and then Nilgak called out Pissuak.

All the dances on the preceding day had been of the pisik type, the dancer, that is, had also beaten the drum. But on this occasion several of the aton type were given. Higilak began the change. On entering the ring she rapped the drum a few times to get her song well started, then handed the instrument to Allikammik and the stick to Kunana, and executed a wild kind of jig, waving her arms in the air and swinging around on both feet, only roughly in time with the music. Sometimes she would call on the spectators to sing louder, and swell the chorus herself with her voice; at other times she would utter whoops and shouts of joy, interspersed with remarks to the singers, remarks such as, 'Aren't we glad the Kanghiryuarmiut have come.' Ikpakhuak, who danced in a similar manner, executed all kinds of fancy evolutions, proving his complete mastery of the art of dancing as far as the Eskimos practise it. He began with a pisik, then handed the drum and stick to Allikammik, and gave one aton without the drum, then a second with Avranna beating it for him. His second aton therefore coincided exactly with the men's dance among the Mackenzie [227] river and northern Alaskan Eskimos. Pissuak and Allikammik both gave aton dances, preceded by a pisik. The latter was carrying her baby on her back when she began, but finding

it too heavy, she handed it over to her husband. The Kanghiryuak natives gave a return dance on the following day, and others were held as long as the two groups remained together; they were less formal than those described, but otherwise differed in no essential respect. (1)"

"1. Cf. Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo, p.186,"

2: Stefansson--234 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
535, 345, 117

"May 15. Dancing. Dance house built today in our honor. The dance house has its floor on ice level, is about fifteen feet in diameter and eight feet high. It is full six feet in height a foot from the wall, i.e., the roof very flat. In building it, two temporary doors were used on opposite sides. As with all houses, the door faces south. The hallway is about half the usual length, about five feet. The door is a trifle higher than ordinary. There are no seats or benches along walls. People stand in complete circle, some boys in the front row, 'so they can see.' All the men and about half the women present. No special place for the women. A circle about five feet in diameter left for the dancer in center. There was no drum, but their bewailing its absence showed they ordinarily use it. They said: 'We almost never dance. We have no drums any more.' This would imply the dancing on decline. The dance now was entirely perhaps at Billy's instance."

2: Stefansson--234-235 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
535, 117

"Most of the dancers assumed being very tired or overcome with languor from heat, they cast their eyes down and the hand dangled lifeless at the [235] wrist. They sang in general with the chorus, there were words to three-fourths of the song and in some cases the dancer used words while others accompanied him without words; in other cases he añaya'd while others used words; in still others he danced silently while others sang. In a half dozen cases the singer made a mistake, used words when he should not have joined the words of the chorus, etc. In each case he was 'jogged' by one or another, and one who failed to hear first correction was tapped on the shoulder to draw his attention. This was all done in a jocular way, each mistake causing laughter, corrections given and received about with same spirit as in a 'set' at a country dance.

One dancer Iglixsirk, danced about in Kittegaryuit 'doctor' style. His movements quick and often violent, his facial expressions at times diabolical, his shouts earsplitting and evidently intended to frighten. At intervals he would suddenly face some one and ask: 'Who am I?' This always of one of us visitors. 'Am I a good man?' etc. (il-yĕr-a-nait-tok). Occasionally, however, he dropped the dance manner and smiled as pleasantly as his Mephistophelian face allowed. At a set point in his song, everyone joined him in a half dozen movements bending at hips and knees. Both my own knowledge and Tan.'s verdict show this performance to be one not essentially different from the Mackenzie River type."

6: Roberts and Jenness--10 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 535

"Copper Eskimo. --Most Copper Eskimo dances take place on winter evenings, although they are sometimes held in the day-time during stormy weather or on the occasion of a visit from people of another community. Men, women and children gather informally in the dance-house, or in the largest house in the settlement. Sone one takes out the drum--there is always one in every large settlement--and the people arrange themselves in a circle with the man or woman who is leading off in the centre; for both sexes dance alike in this region, and only one person performs at a time.

The dance that begins the entertainment is always of the pisik type, and frequently none but pisiks are given throughout the whole evening. The essential feature of a pisik dance is that the performer wields the drum himself, the rest of the people simply accompanying him in the singing. The dancer moves slowly round and round the circle, keeping his knees slightly bent; sometimes he hops lightly on both feet, more often he moves them alternately, but without any attempt to keep time with the actual drum-beats. To a large extent he is independent of his audience, although he often tries to rouse their energies by increased vigour in his own drumming and singing and by giving vent to an occasional whoop of joy.

In the aton dance either the drum is not used at all, or it is wielded by one of the singers in the circle. The dancer, therefore, has his hands free, but is more dependent on the singers for the music.

After his song is well started he generally ceases to sing, but begins to gesticulate violently with his arms, hopping now on one foot, now on the other, whooping with delight and delivering himself over to the wildest abandon if the singers are at all enthusiastic.[1]

Western Eskimo. --Both these forms of dance, with certain variations, are in vogue among the Eskimos of the Mackenzie river delta. The people, instead of forming a circle, sit or stand around the sides of the tent or house wherever they can find room, and the drummers, of whom there are always several, sit in a row at the back. The drums vary in size, but are smaller than those used by the Copper Eskimos, and the drum-stick is lighter and longer, striking both sides of the rim at the same time, and, when the stroke is hard, bending in the middle and touching the membrane. The wearing of mittens, concerning which there seems to be no rule among the Copper Eskimo, is forbidden to Mackenzie delta women, but compulsory for the men, although they are allowed to carry them in the hands instead of drawing them over the fingers; when retiring the man will either throw the mittens on the ground for the next person to recover, or fling them at someone in the audience, thereby challenging him to take his place."

"1. For a more complete account of Copper Eskimo dancing, see Vol. XII, Pt. A, pp. 223-227."

"The pisik, which is much the commoner form of dance among the Copper Eskimos, appears to be quite rare in the Mackenzie delta. One example was seen at Herschel island in the summer of 1914; apart from the music, it was performed in exactly the same manner as to the eastward. West of the Mackenzie delta, in northern Alaska, the pisik seems to be altogether unknown.

The characteristic dance in the Mackenzie delta and westward is the aton. This, contrary to Copper Eskimo custom, is performed by several persons at once, and in a different manner by the two sexes. The men, as a rule, seek to strain as many muscles of the body and limbs as possible, so that their dancing [11] often has the character of a contortionist performance. (1) The song is first tried over, as it were, the drummers tapping their drums very lightly while the dancer beats time with one foot, sways his body a little, and rhythmically waves his arms to and fro at his side, joining at times in the singing. The song then begins over again, the drums are struck more loudly and the music swells in volume. Every muscle of the dancer becomes rigid, each clenched hand is stretched out in turn to one side while the other is held taut against the chest or launched violently forward or upward. He stamps with one foot, keeping both knees bent, contorts his body and shrugs his shoulders; now he stoops low towards the ground, now throws back his head and hops around on both feet; from time to time meaningless

"1. The aton of the Copper Eskimos is less fantastic and unnatural."

ejaculations burst from his lips. Every man has his own peculiar style, but the general pattern of them all is the same. (2) The song is usually repeated once or twice, then succeeded with hardly a break by another song until the dancer is exhausted and obliged to retire. The dancing of the women is much less violent. During the preliminary rendering of the song they comport themselves in almost the same way as the men; but when the drums are struck loudly for the repetition they sway lightly up and down with bent knees and rhythmically wave their outstretched open hands until the music ceases.

At Point Barrow and Point Hope, in northern Alaska, the aton dance, the only kind known apparently, is performed exactly as in the Mackenzie delta, with the same arrangement of drummers and singers and the same distinction between the dancing of the men and of the women. (3)

---

2. The words of No. 121 give a good description from the native point of view.
3. The ordinary term for a dance-song in the Mackenzie delta and N. Alaskan dialects is aton, but Petitot, in his vocabulary of the former, gives the term pisiek. He does not specify whether it is applied to all dance-songs, or only to those accompanying one particular form of dance. In N. Alaska the word seems to be unknown.

Hudson bay.--No opportunity was afforded of witnessing any Hudson bay dances beyond the impromptu ones given at our station by the two visitors from whom Songs Nos. 126-132 were derived. These two men performed four or five dances, all of the pisik type; the music seemed very monotonous, and the movements of the dance still more so, the performer simply shuffling around and around as he beat a rapid tattoo on his drum. If my memory serves me correctly (4) this is the typical form of dance throughout Hudson bay, Labrador, Baffin island and Greenland. Not only does the aton form not exist in those regions, but the word aton (and the stem atoq, 'to sing,' from which it is derived) is unknown there, the ordinary term for a dance-song being pisik."

"4. This introduction was written in the field, away from all libraries and books of reference."

6: Roberts and Jenness--11 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 535

"Separate origins of the two dance forms. --The facts just presented strongly suggest that the two dance forms now current among the Eskimos, the aton and the pisik, were formerly quite distinct. The pisik is the characteristic dance of the eastern division of the race, predominates among the Copper Eskimos, is known in the Mackenzie delta, but probably does not extend into Alaska. The aton belongs peculiarly to the western division, is the prevailing form in the Mackenzie delta, exists as a minor variety among the Copper Eskimos, but apparently extends no farther towards the east. The presence of both forms, in inverse popularity, among the Mackenzie delta and Copper Eskimos can be readily explained as due to mutual borrowing.

It is no objection to this theory, but rather the contrary, that aton and pisik dance-songs cannot be distinguished among the Copper Eskimos, nor, I believe, among those of the Mackenzie delta, although there are quite marked musical and structural differences between the dance-songs of the two regions. The older and more firmly established type of song in each place would exert an overwhelming influence on the borrowed form; the aton would gradually be assimilated to the pisik among the Copper Eskimos, the pisik to the aton among the Eskimos of the Mackenzie delta."

6: Roberts and Jenness --12 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
535

"The Copper Eskimos are constantly paying visits to other communities, and every visit of importance is marked by a dance in which the leading members on both sides take part."

6: Roberts and Jenness --20 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 535

"The Copper Eskimo have the pisik and the aton, the differences between which, at least at the present time, seem to be centered in the method of dancing, which is not so much a matter of steps as of more abandon. In dancing the pisik the dancer holds his own drum which he or she beats while dancing in the ring, while with the aton, after the song is well started, the drum is given to someone on the side, who beats it while the dancer is allowed the freedom of wilder gesticulation and relief from the weight and swinging of the drum. So far as the collector could determine these were about the differences to be detected in the two methods of dancing, and so obscure were the differences, if any, in the musical structure of the two that it could not be defined without more than ordinary acquaintance and even analysis. The people themselves usually were able to say at once which type of song it was, but at times a man would have to ask a companion, and generally the decision seemed to rest upon the manner of dancing which had become associated with the tune and not upon any structural differences in the song itself, such as metre, the beat upon which the song began, the different parts of it, with possible changes in metre, the speed, the repetitions, etc., all of which points are important considerations in our own dance music.

At an earlier time there may have been considerable difference in the two types of dances and the music which accompanied them, but at present these lines of distinction are much obscured and it remains for musical analysis to reveal what traces of them

may survive, and to define, if possible, the stylistic features, not only of such types of dance songs as may be found, but also of the weather and other incantations and of the music of the peoples more or less separated from the Copper Eskimo who have developed their own local peculiarities."

11: Stefansson--185-186 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 535, 574

"It was near noon of our first day when some one asked me if there were not some way in which the western people celebrated the coming of visitors. I replied that usually all the village gathered in a great dance. That was just their way, my hosts told me, and, seeing that our customs coincided, they would make today a dance-[186] house, as large as if two large tribes had met to trade; we should see how they danced, and possibly we might dance for them, too. The idea was no sooner broached that a dozen young men ran off to their various houses to don their house-building coats and mittens and get their snow-knives. By mid-afternoon the dance-house was up, a snow-dome nine feet high and large enough to accommodate forty people standing in a circle around a five-foot open space in the center reserved for the dancers."

11: Stefansson--186-187 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 535

"The dance, which began as soon as the dance-house was built, continued the rest of the afternoon. None of the dances were identical with any known to my companions from Alaska or the Mackenzie, but there was a general similarity. The performers differed in some cases markedly among themselves; those especially whose ancestors were said to have come from the mainland coast to the west differed strongly from the rest. Many of the dances were performed without moving the feet at all, but by swaying the body and gesticulating with the arms. In some cases the performer sang, recited, or uttered a series of exclamations, in others he was silent; but all the dances were done to the accompaniment of the singing of all those present, who knew the song appropriate to each dance. [187] Some dances known to individuals could not be shown because no one was found who could sing the accompaniment."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

123
[361] of the bay, where a band of children were rolling hoops along the ice of the foreshore. "White man, white man," my companions shouted as they ran. The villagers poured out of their houses and crowded around me, men jostling women, and women pushing aside men, in their eagerness to scan my face and tell me their names. At the last came a tall, dignified man of about middle age who warmly seized my arm and [352] invited me to enter his hut. When I crawled in behind him he set me in the place of honour at the back of the sleeping-platform, dusted the snow from my shoes, and seated himself in front at my feet.

My guide had relatives in this village witn whom he proposed to spend the night; but I had many notes to write and desired a separate snow-hut where I could be quiet and undisturbed. The Eskimos gladly built one for me while I unharnessed and fed the dogs; and they vied with each other in unloading the sled, hoping to catch a glimpse of my trade goods. Some stayed to share my supper, boiled rice seasoned with sugar and canned milk; and it was amusing to watch their faces as each in turn swallowed a spoonful of [534] the novel dish. Not all of them shared my own opinion of its excellence, and the discussion that arose about the white man's food might have lasted all night if the distant booming of a drum had not diverted [345] their thoughts and brought about a hasty exodus. The [535] people were holding a dance in my honour, and awaited

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

my presence in the dance-house, which was in this village the forecourt of a large two-roomed hut. Seated in state on a sleeping-platform I watched their monotonous performance for two hours; then weariness overcame me, and, slipping through the low doorway, I retired, unattended, to my new home.

Eskimo dances have a superficial resemblance to the open-air meetings of a church army band, except that the only musical instrument is a drum. The singers form a ring around the leader, who hops and prances rhythmically to the accompaniment of a song. As one dancer tires and steps back into the ring, another takes his place. Women and children alternate with the men, for the sexes have almost equal status in this twilight land. Sometimes the faces of the singers glow with such earnestness that even the alien spectator succumbs to the emotional atmosphere and joins in their embryonic religion. Thus with song and dance they while away the evening hours until one after another drops out of the circle and the gathering dissolves to its homes

I measured the heads and statures of the Eskimos from early the next morning until mid-afternoon. Every man who submitted to the operation received a fish-hook, every woman a needle; and the payment seemed to satisfy them all. On completing these measurements I traded for museum specimens, bartering knives, files, and other articles for lamps and pots

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

monotonous songs to the accompaniment of a drum. At times their dances were interspersed with strange religious ceremonies, always fascinating to watch and occasionally difficult to comprehend. They knew nothing of Christianity. Their forefathers had taught them to believe in a goddess dwelling at the bottom of the sea who controlled both the winter storms and the supply of seals. They did not worship her as we understand worship, but they held her in great awe, and often tried to secure her goodwill by persuasion or by threats. Many of their misfortunes were laid directly to her door; others were ascribed to the spirits of the dead, or to the machinations of sorcerers. Their sole defence against these imaginary foes lay in their shamans or medicine-men, who claimed to summon into their bodies powerful spirits of men and animals that had voluntarily placed themselves under human control. The medicine-men were thus the physicians, the prophets, and the priests of their little communities. Speaking as the mouthpieces of their spirits, they elucidated the past and foretold the future; and they sent their protecting spirits to bring back the stolen souls of the sick or to compel the sea-goddess to deliver up the seals she withheld from the starving Eskimos. Yet there were many occasions in life when even they could give no assistance, and the people, realizing this, accepted their fate with the fortitude customary to their race.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

837 A stranger in an Eskimo tribe
609 was a potential enemy who could be killed at sight;
628 but by this system of temporarily exchanging wives the natives could travel in safety from one end of the country to the other.

114 So Mrs. Snow-Knife, or Mrs. Wealthy, as she now became for a few days, accompanied us to the village of the "People of the Land on the Other Side." She arranged the skins and meagre furniture of our snow-huts, tended the lamp, and boiled the seal meat for our
574 evening meal. I witnessed her meeting with her two
593 sisters, one much older than herself, the other a maiden of about fifteen years. She herself rejoiced without effusion; the maiden displayed more interest in the white man's sled than in the sister of whom she had heard nothing for nine months; but the eldest woman sat in her hut and wept copiously throughout the evening. They were typically human in their outlooks, these three sisters dwelling where the midday twilight and the midnight sun follow each other season after season. The young girl was just beginning life and her hopes were all in the future; Mrs. Snow-Knife had been married several years and held both the past and the future in an equal balance; but the eldest woman, though still in the prime of life, bore the stamp of hardship on her face and her mind was already looking backward.

574 The "People of the Land on the Other Side" were
535 too hospitable not to hold the usual dance in our

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

honour. They had built no dance-house, and did not possess a drum; but about thirty squeezed into an ordinary dwelling-house eleven feet in diameter, where they banged my frying-pan and sang at the tops of their voices until the snow-ceiling, melting with the warmth of so many human beings, began to drip ice-cold water on our heads. The din and odour were terrific, more than flesh and blood could endure; so, pushing my way through the crowd, I retired to the purity of the outer air and gradually regained my senses.

We remained in this village one day and two nights while I measured all its adult inhabitants. Seal meat was not plentiful, and a longer stay would have left my dogs without food. Moreover, it was not necessary, for I was now formally introduced to the people, and could study them at my leisure when they joined the other two tribes in the Liston and Sutton Islands at the end of the month.

My party on the return journey was increased by three—Wealthy's cousin, whose wife was already at the island village, and two girls, Mrs. Snow-Knife's sister and another, who were bound on the high-road to matrimony. The brides piled everything they owned on top of my sled, which creaked and groaned under the extra load. Luckily their trousseaux were not as formidable as their white sisters', or we should never have reached our journey's end. The average Eskimo

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

574
574 ful again before the strangers reached our camp. We
345 helped them to set up their tent, nibbled some of their frozen seal meat, and hurried away to build a dance-house while the women stayed behind to gossip.

Our dance-house was not the orthodox dome of snow that I had seen in many settlements during the winter, for the roof would have melted and collapsed within twenty-four hours. Instead, we built a circle of snow-blocks three tiers high, and covered it with everything we could lay our hands upon. The rafters were fish-spears and walking-sticks, the roofing the canvas cover of my sled. As the canvas covered no more than half the roof my comrades requisitioned their tent skins to close the gap. They were now without tents again, exposed to any further gales that might arise; so they bundled all their possessions into the dance-house, piled them against the wall each morning, and sorted them out again in the evening at the conclusion of the dancing.

574 For three days we held high revel. All the formal
535 dancing took place on the first day. My people were the hosts, and Icehouse, as the wife of the leading man, had the privilege of opening the ceremony. She performed her dance with much dexterity and grace, far surpassing the leading Tormiat woman, whose angular figure and awkward movements made me think of the puppets in a Punch and Judy show. The other Eskimos followed in the order prescribed by their age

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

and party until the official program came to an end. Some of the more elderly natives, wearied with the eight hours' continuous performance, then retired to rest; but the younger kept up the dancing until early morning.

During the two days that followed, gossip and barter divided the hours with informal dances. Our visitors watched me furtively. Only one white man had crossed their lives before, and even he had vanished before they knew him intimately, or could assure themselves that he really came from that far-distant corner of the earth where a great pole props up the sky. They remembered the legend which said that Eskimos, Indians, and white men were originally brothers, their mother a beautiful woman who rejected every suitor until her father's dog, metamorphosed into a handsome young man, visited her and won her love. She herself went down to the ocean floor to preside over the waves, the fish, and the sea mammals; but her children scattered in all directions. Only the Eskimos remained human; the Indians kept their human forms, but became like wild beasts at heart; and the white men degenerated into monsters even in outward appearance.

So the Tormiat followed all my movements with the utmost curiosity. They still thought their legend partly true, and waited expectantly for evidence of my "monstrosity." Icehouse herself, my adopted mother,

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

593 Ikpuck's longing for a son. So their home life was complete.

[152] Nevertheless the Tormiat woman disturbed Ice-house's peace of mind. She shrank from remaining in the same camp with her rival, and entreated Ikpuck to lead back our party to the Lake of Dancing. Ikpuck consulted me, and we agreed to depart on the morrow.

574 The natives from the Great Sound joined us in a dance
535 of farewell, and we started on the homeward march.

372 The snow was melting everywhere, and the women, skirting the ridges, filled their bags with dryads to cook our evening meal. We wandered along like bees, sipping at every thimbleful of water that collected [137] in the cracked soil. A few pink saxifrages were open-[136] ing out their blossoms, and Lapland longspurs sang gaily all around. My companions laughed and chattered as, marching steadily, we re-entered the Colville Hills. But when we approached a knoll slightly higher than the others Ikpuck raised his voice and wept 765 shrilly. Yonder, on its crest, lay the bleaching bones of his only brother who had died six years before; and of all his family he alone remained. The whole train wailed aloud in sympathy, the hills echoed their cries, and the frightened longspurs crouched silent in the moss. Slowly our gloomy procession trailed past the fatal site; but when it lay far behind us my companions ceased their wailing and filled the air again with cheerful laughter.

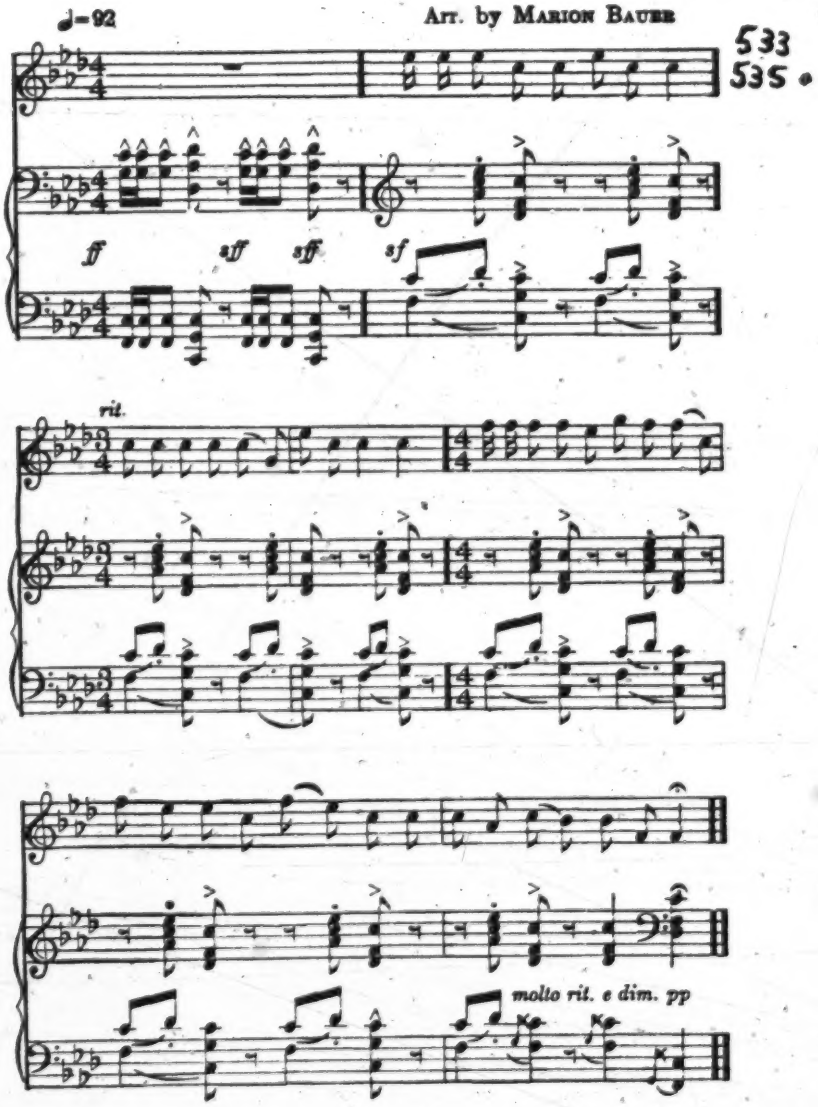
29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

437 [361] Eskimos from both sides of the strait, and from the Coppermine River area, flocked to the station to trade before the opening of the sealing season, until their new-born village on the edge of the ice contained [123] nearly a hundred and fifty inhabitants. They remained with us for three weeks, giving no trouble, although we excluded all but Ikpuck's family from the house until 124 nightfall. I tried, with Patsy's assistance, to delve into their religion and to record their ancient traditions; but privacy was impossible and fear of public dis- 123 approval sealed their lips. They spent their days in 437 trading with me, or in visiting each other's huts and 574 holding impromptu dances; then, after the white men 125 had put away their note-books and retired to read in their bunks, they gathered around my phonograph and 123 filled the house with song. Although the love of music is inborn, not taught, I had hoped that the sweetness of their voices would kindle an æsthetic glow in the cold, scientific breasts of my companions. But Cox leaped violently from his bed one midnight, and with neither sympathy nor ceremony expelled the belated choristers into the outer darkness.

533 [789] All the chants they sang for me were either dance-songs or incantations to create fine weather. I asked [535] them for lullabies; they responded with more dance-[854] songs. The mother who rocked her baby to sleep on her back, under the warm fur coat, crooned the same melodies that she shouted in the dance-house to the booming of the drum.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

the booming of the drum. Were there no war-songs, no chants of victory? They asked me what war meant, for they knew of no enemies except the Indians far to the south, whom they seldom saw and carefully avoided. Surely, then, there were love-songs, songs in which the youth declared his passion and praised his fair one's beauty. No, life was hard, marriage a necessity for all. The maiden must wed a hunter who could provide her with food, clothing, and shelter, and the youth must seek out a bride who would prepare his food and sew his garments. If couples failed to agree, they could separate and find other mates. Beauty, that soon faded, did not help them in the struggle for life's necessities, and romance was stifled. The dance-house was the social hearth. There they chanted their prayers to the mystic powers that controlled the weather, that could shatter the ice-fields or withhold the game; and there, in song, they narrated their adventures and retailed the news from distant tribes. The incantations were their prayers, the dance-songs their chronicle of current events. Ikpuck sang of our polar-bear hunt, and song and story spread far along the coast, growing more garbled and unintelligible at every stage of their journey. The words of his song mattered little; every dancer could improvise new syllables, like the foreigner who sings Italian opera. What counted most was the new melody, bringing joy to the hearts of a people who found in music their

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

DANCE SONG